The Idea of the *Università*

Francesco Zuddas

Fischer von Erlach,
Alexander on Mount Athos, 1725
© Historical Picture Archive /
Corbis via Getty Images

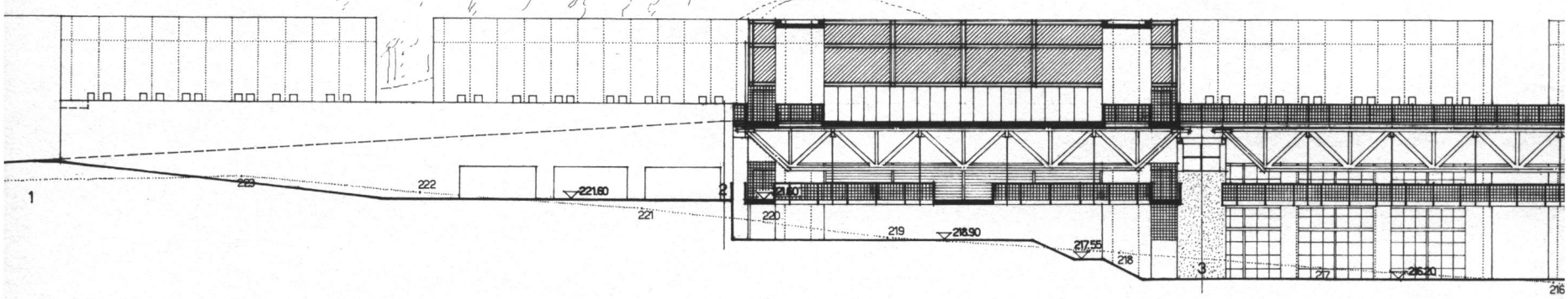
When, in 1968, Joseph Rykwert proclaimed universities to be 'the archetype or paradigm of our age', he was putting the accent on a decade that had seen the most sustained period of university building in history.[1] As the recently appointed professor of art at Essex University in Colchester, one of the self-same universities he was talking about, Rykwert's ruminations about what he considered quintessential should be read against the backdrop of his own immediate context. And yet his words did echo a wider recognition of the renewed importance of this building type, or as an editorial in the US journal *Architectural Forum* had put it more expectantly six years earlier, 'And now, the education explosion...'.[2]

Indeed, during the 1960s the design of an entire university would prove to be the most sought-after commission for any ambitious architect, and by the time Rykwert canonised their emergence – in a text that was actually more of a critique than a celebration – numerous examples had been built all over the world, but especially in England, the country that had initiated this building boom with its own 'plateglass' universities. The construction of these new institutions, endorsed by the UK government's Robbins Report on Higher Education in 1963, really did explode established models, rethinking not only the very idea of a university to fit the prospect of a more open, democratic society, but also the spatial relationship between rural college campuses and an increasingly urbanised world.

Naturally, the opportunity to reinvent on this scale was hugely attractive to architects, whose more megalomaniacal design instincts had until that point only found an outlet in pre- and postwar utopian urban plans. It was no accident, then, that the new British universities were referred to by their designers as 'towns', and that the first seven plateglass campuses to be built – for the universities of Sussex, York, Warwick, Essex, Lancaster, East Anglia and Kent – were all located in brownfield sites on the outskirts of existing urban areas. In this vision of a new knowledge-based society, the design of universities and towns was seen as strongly intertwined. Or as architect Michael Brawne described it in 1964, 'the questions arising from the complexity of urban planning ... are present in university design' – [and, conversely] 'university planning and design may be applicable to town design with which, after all, it has a great deal of similarity'.[3] The same ambition was reiterated by university administrators, with Essex's vice chancellor, A E Sloman, emphasising the importance of making 'the university itself a kind of small town, with its own modest range of small shops, restaurants and coffee-bars',[4] just as his opposite number at Lancaster, C F Carter, endorsed 'a fairly dense urban type of development which would encourage the mixing of people as much as possible'.[5]

It was precisely this equivalence between city and university that Rykwert was criticising in his 1968 article, in particular the habit of mimicking urban arrangements in pastiche squares and piazzas, a tactic he saw as simultaneously too crude a take on real urbanity, and too much of a missed opportunity for the role universities could play within a society rapidly heading towards 'complete urbanisation' (to use the popular phrase of the time, coined by Henri Lefebvre in his *La révolution urbaine*). And while many university architects did indeed feel the need to situate ideal academic communities within replicas of familiar or historic urban spaces, others *were* able to respond to the more ambitious possibilities afforded by their commissions by developing new, explicitly rural solutions (notably Denys Lasdun's work at UEA, heavily indebted to an eighteenth-century English landscape tradition).

In this sense, architectural invention went hand-in-hand with large-scale, even territorial concerns, making the new universities part of a collective debate that absorbed both architects and planners (as well as the architectural press, which dedicated numerous publications and magazines to the theme).[6] Nor was the idea of tying new campuses to larger approaches to urban and suburban planning unique to the UK.[7] If the plateglass universities were heirs to the New Towns (which in turn followed the Garden Cities), then in France university design reinvigorated the national debate on the *banlieues* and *grand ensembles*, illustrated by the Sorbonne's new campus in Nanterre, which extracted an extension to France's most prestigious university from Paris' *rive gauche* to its western suburbs. In the US, by contrast, the tradition of the detached, self-sufficient campus was already so strong that it could only be

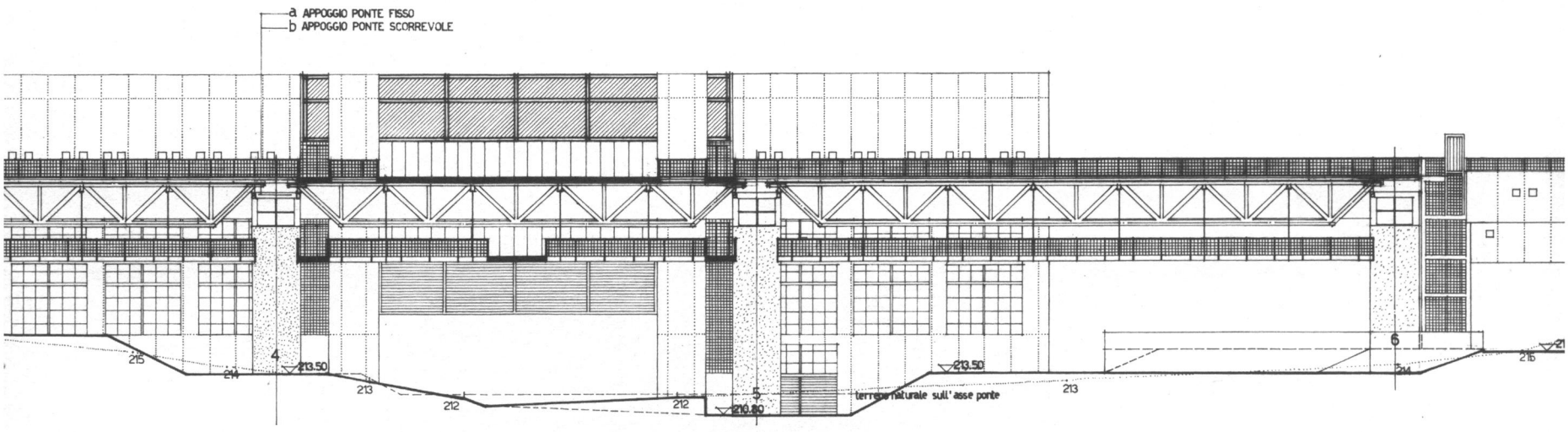


confirmed, with the construction or expansion of more than 60 campuses for the State University of New York, under the patronage of Nelson A Rockefeller,[8] and the outgrowth of new branches of the University of California, promoted by its president Clark Kerr. In his widely read book, *The Uses of the University* (1963), Kerr described the wider ambition behind this physical expansion as a radical reconceptualisation of the very idea of the university, or as Kerr termed it, the 'multiversity', a gigantic amalgam of education and industry.[9] The most unadulterated architectural manifestation of this type, however, was not in the US but in Germany, where there was a renewed drive to establish 'reform universities' that broke with the established model, both in terms of their out-of-town location and their curricula, while looking to refresh the Humboldtian ideal of aligning teaching with research. And the size of the student population (25,000 at the Ruhr-Universität Bochum for example, dwarfing the 3–6,000 students in the plateglass universities), meant the complexes really were industrial in scale.[10]

Germany's inclination towards this more expansive model was already evident in the architectural competition for the Ruhr Universität in 1962, where proposals by the likes of Gropius' Architects Collaborative, Arne Jacobsen, Bakema & Van der Broek and Candilis, Josic & Woods did not limit themselves to the dispersal of college buildings around a landscaped ground, but rather submitted organisational principles for the far more ambitious colonisation of an entire rural territory.[11] Interestingly, the same year marked Italy's first foray into this debate when, in an article in *Casabella*, a young Aldo Rossi advocated the very same approach: 'Shopping centres, universities, cultural centres and public buildings will all regain their formal importance: they will be the monuments of a wider metropolitan territory that will be marked by an impressive public transport network capable of augmenting and multiplying movement, contacts and the participation of everyman in the spirit of the new city.'[12]

It was not until the early 1970s, however, that Italian architects were able to fully respond to this call, taking advantage of a cluster of open architectural competitions for new universities by submitting a series of unashamedly territorial designs. Perhaps the most dramatic of these was a 1972–74 proposal by Vittorio Gregotti for the University of Calabria.[13] Responding to a brief that called for the integration of the wider landscape outside the small southern Italian town of Arcavacata, Gregotti designed a university in the form of a slender 3km-long bridge which not only spanned a sequence of hills and valleys, but connected two major infrastructural nodes – a motorway and a main rail line. The linearity of the complex was reinforced by a cross-section which Gregotti limited to a maximum width of 110m, and by a roofline kept at a continuous level, which meant that the building heights only varied in response to the rise and fall of the ground plane. At its central point this bridge became multi-tiered, and was flanked by two rows of buildings designed in the form of cubes. These housed all the university departments and were accessible from the bridge on two levels – a lower pedestrian path and an upper vehicular road. Exceptional spaces that could not be accommodated within the rigid structure of the cubes, for example the larger lecture halls, were located as auxiliary bridges suspended between two departments. Student residences and dormitories were detached from the spine altogether, placed on the northern slopes of the adjacent hills, while opposing south-facing slopes were preserved for agricultural use and mainly planted with olive trees.

The Calabrian competition was actually one of a series in the early 1970s, all of them organised by Italian universities seeking to expand their structures and, to a certain extent, also their remit.[14] Other competitions included those for the universities of Florence (1970–71), Cagliari (1971–73) and Salerno (1973–75).[15] Much like the briefs for the plateglass universities, all four of them rejected the possibility of expanding inner-city sites, instead identifying a new rural location, typically around 10km from their host cities. The similarities, however, did not extend much further than this, because in contrast to the somewhat monastic and contained English model, Italian competitions had a much wider reach, asking participants to create regional masterplans within which the university was just one part. Unsurprisingly, the scale of this ambition proved irresistible to Italian architects, many of whom found it impossible to limit themselves to just one



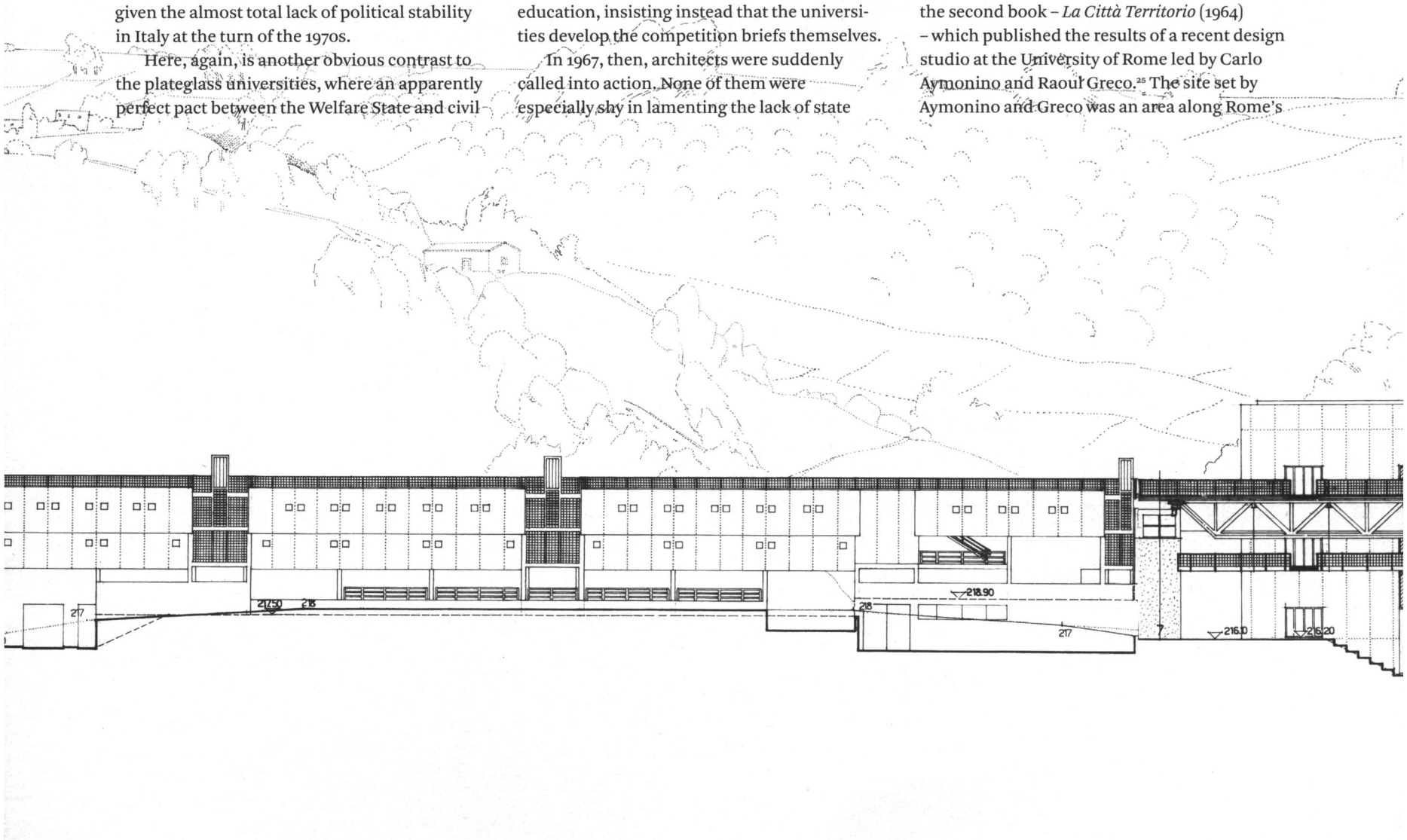
proposal. Their popularity also spurred a properly Italian debate among the likes of Vittorio Gregotti (winner in Florence and Calabria), Giuseppe Samonà (second prize in Cagliari and participant in Calabria), Carlo Aymonino & Costantino Dardi (honourable mention in Florence, third in Cagliari, participants in Calabria, and Aymonino a member of the jury in Salerno), Ludovico Quaroni (third prize in Florence and a participant in Calabria), Archizoom (participants in Florence), Superstudio (participants in Florence), Guido Canella (participant in Calabria and a member of the jury in Cagliari), BBPR (participants in Calabria), Ugo Polesello (participants in Calabria) and Uberto Siola (second prize in Salerno and an honourable mention in Cagliari) – to mention just the more well-known names.

In total, over 100 proposals were submitted to these competitions, but very few have been embalmed in the pages of architectural history books.[16] Most remained paper projects, and those that were realised were heavily compromised during their construction (the case, especially, of the winning projects for Florence and Cagliari).[17] The exception is Gregotti's design for Calabria, which was both built and to a certain extent absorbed into a historical canon, and remains the embodiment of a level of architectural ambition all the more striking given the almost total lack of political stability in Italy at the turn of the 1970s.

Here, again, is another obvious contrast to the plateglass universities, where an apparently perfect pact between the Welfare State and civil society was mirrored in an ostensibly seamless design and construction process. As in the UK, discussions about reforming higher education had been going on in Italy since the early 1960s, and its own version of the Robbins report was actually published a couple of months *before* its English equivalent.[18] This same report then became mired in endless debates without ever achieving a parliamentary consensus,[19] but even if reform had been approved, there was no aspect of the Italian bill that allowed for the spatial reimagining of the modern university. Perhaps the main reason for this was that historically universities in Italy have always been rather dispersed presences within a city fabric, growing in an ad-hoc basis and only when adjacent land is available.[20] The only two exceptions to this model – of entire, planned universities built in the twentieth century – are Bocconi University in Milan and the Città Universitaria in Rome, both completed under the Fascist regime in the 1930s.[21] In every other instance, Italian universities survived inside converted buildings that by the early 1960s were manifestly too small to accommodate the anticipated one million additional university students over the coming decades.[22] Even when the government finally got around to allocating funds for university expansion in 1967, it washed its hands of the duty to define a vision for higher education, insisting instead that the universities develop the competition briefs themselves.

In 1967, then, architects were suddenly called into action. None of them were especially shy in lamenting the lack of state or institutional guidance, but all were equally energised by the opportunity to develop an almost independent discourse on higher education from within the disciplinary boundaries of architecture and urbanism.[23] Their enthusiasm was reflected in a series of research projects, as in the case of initiatives led by Giancarlo De Carlo in Venice, Guido Canella in Milan and Paola Coppola Pignatelli in Rome, which coupled an analysis of the international scene with a diagnosis of what they saw as a peculiarly Italian condition.[24] But the real goal was a partisan one, as they seized the opportunity to reaffirm the value of architecture in the face of what many Italian practitioners saw as a technocratic challenge to their authority.

This rivalry between architecture and scientific planning had gone public in the early 1960s with the publication of two books, both elaborations on the same topic (which in Italy had been assigned its own label as early as 1959, '*Nuova Dimensione Urbana*'). The first – *La Città Regione in Italia* (1962) – was the product of the Centro di Studi e Piani Economici, a national research centre that approached large-scale development from a wide socio-economic perspective, presenting a number of ambitious but spatially generic 'programmatic hypotheses'. These stood in stark contrast to the grandiose architectural propositions of the second book – *La Città Territorio* (1964) – which published the results of a recent design studio at the University of Rome led by Carlo Aymonino and Raoul Greco.[25] The site set by Aymonino and Greco was an area along Rome's



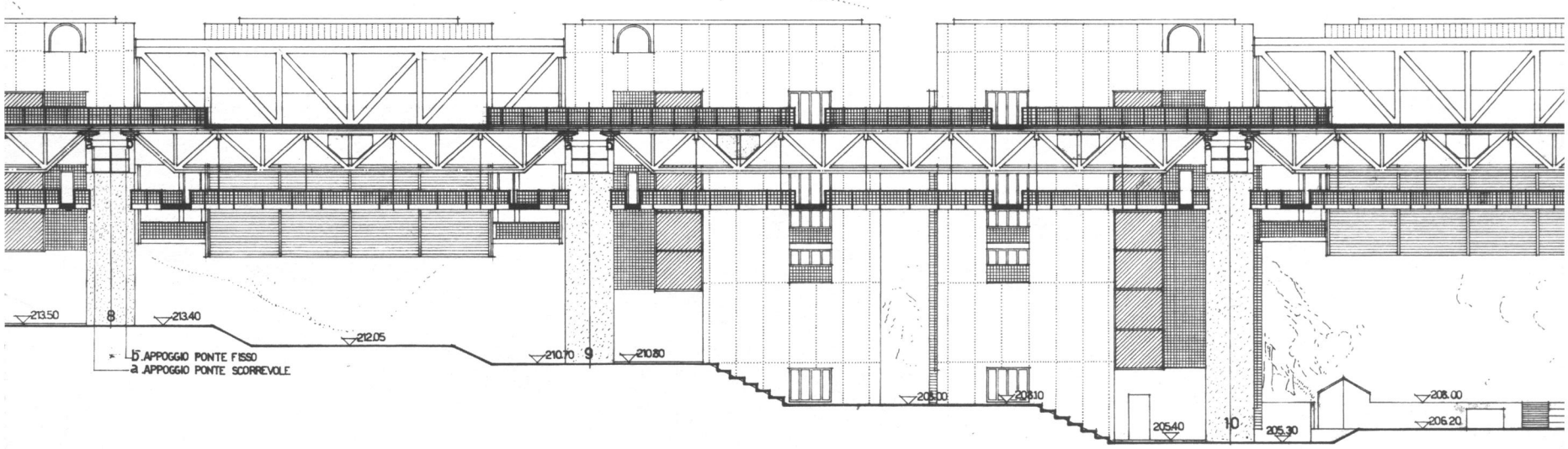
eastern periphery. Recently designated a development axis, and designed to accommodate new concentrations of tertiary services and offices, this so-called *centro direzionale*, alongside other similar developments, was at the time much discussed and debated in the pages of *Casabella* and other architectural magazines, as Italy looked to present its new future as an advanced service economy. The students of Aymonino and Greco, just like the authors of many of the magazine articles, both challenged and elaborated on this vision, and used their projects to present a manifesto for the centrality of architectural form in the shaping of cities, as opposed to the tendency to handle the built environment only through governmental planning policy.[26]

These attacks on the tertiary sector and on the bureaucracy that subsumed it would gain momentum, culminating in the strikes, protests and sit-ins of 1968, which proved especially incendiary in Italy, where disgruntled students came together with disenfranchised factory workers, both of them radically opposed to a bureaucratised service economy, and committed to the idea that the construction of a new society depended on a revolution in higher education.[27] It was in the schools of architecture that the university's identity crisis really came to a head, making them hotbeds of protest against outdated pedagogies and sterile academic exercises and examinations. An alternative was offered in the form of experimental design studios. These looked to reinvent the teaching of architecture by establishing collective research groups, made up of both students and professors, and which were set up explicitly to address issues with far stronger ties to reality. In this sense, the studio run by Aymonino and Greco on the *centro direzionale* can be seen as a kind of prototype, but the example that more directly connected to the crisis of the university was a course led by Guido Canella at the Milan Polytechnic between 1967–69.[28] Eerily prescient of the 1972 competition that propelled Gregotti to victory, Canella's brief called for the design of a higher education system in Calabria, a region that had long suffered from geographical isolation and socio-economic decline. But at the same time the site was also tacitly the Milan polytechnic, which had witnessed increasingly vehement debates and demonstrations against the university's rather decadent administration and the reform proposals for education advocated by parliament.[29] Canella himself would eventually pay the price for his involvement in these debates when on 23 November 1971 – together with seven other faculty members, including Aldo Rossi and Paolo Portoghesi – he was suspended from his post for backing the students who had given shelter inside the polytechnic to a group of evicted Milanese social housing residents.[30]

Canella's greater radicalism, however, was his studio brief, because it suggested a set of novel ideas for a university that were in obvious opposition to both the amorphous, incoherent reality of Italy's higher education institutions, and the discrete, idyllic new campuses that were then popping up around the globe. For Canella, the university of the future could not be reduced to a settlement, but should branch out from the classrooms and laboratory buildings to offer courses for professional development within factories and production plants, as well as at the lower levels of the school educational system, with university students acting as teachers – a rethinking of university education in many ways more coherent than the project more typically used to illustrate this radicalism, Cedric Price's Potteries Thinkbelt from 1966.

Of course, the exploded university as imagined by Canella could not be more different from the massive physical structure designed by Gregotti for Calabria a few years later. Despite this, Canella remained tight-lipped on the winning design, but was openly hostile to the competition brief, criticising officials for wanting 'a bit of university no matter what'[31] and their myopic faith in a singular architectural silhouette. Nevertheless, the competition for Calabria *was* revolutionary, not least because it looked to import a new type of university far removed from anything the country had seen before, something that implicitly suggested the absence of a strong Italian model to build upon.

To be sure, there *is* some sort of identity attached to higher education in Italy, but this is essentially found not in the universities themselves but in the peculiar urban patterns that subsume them, and which in many ways make universities extensions of lower levels of schooling. Like a secondary or even a primary school pupil, an average Italian university



student wakes up every morning in his family home, is fed by his mother, goes to classes or the library during the day, and then returns home at night. With the exception of certain *collegi* (typically dismissed as a form of welfare, offering facilities only for the poorest students),[32] housing consistently escaped the obligations of academic institutions, meaning that in the 1960s there were no proper student halls of residence in the country.

Likewise, pastoral care and tutorials – keystones of the Anglo-Saxon tradition – have always been strangers to an Italian idea of the university. It was exactly this tradition that the competition for Calabria wanted to import. In fact, the University of Calabria was established as the country's first 'residential university', with students living on campus, having a direct affiliation with a specific college and, again like the Oxbridge model, being assigned a personal academic mentor.[33] All this was, in part, a response to the isolated nature of the surrounding terrain, which was consistently invoked as evidence of the need for some sort of self-sufficient model of the Anglo-American type. In this context, a campus – even one configured as a 3km-long bridge across a mountainous landscape – seemed like the most natural solution.

The university's time and money has been well spent. I should probably not be the one to say this, as I was a member of the jury, but I know that the choice was based purely on merit, with no influence from partisan interests. After days of hard work during the two selection stages for the competition, and to the best of my knowledge of what was being produced in architecture in Europe and abroad, I think that a better choice could not have been made.[34]

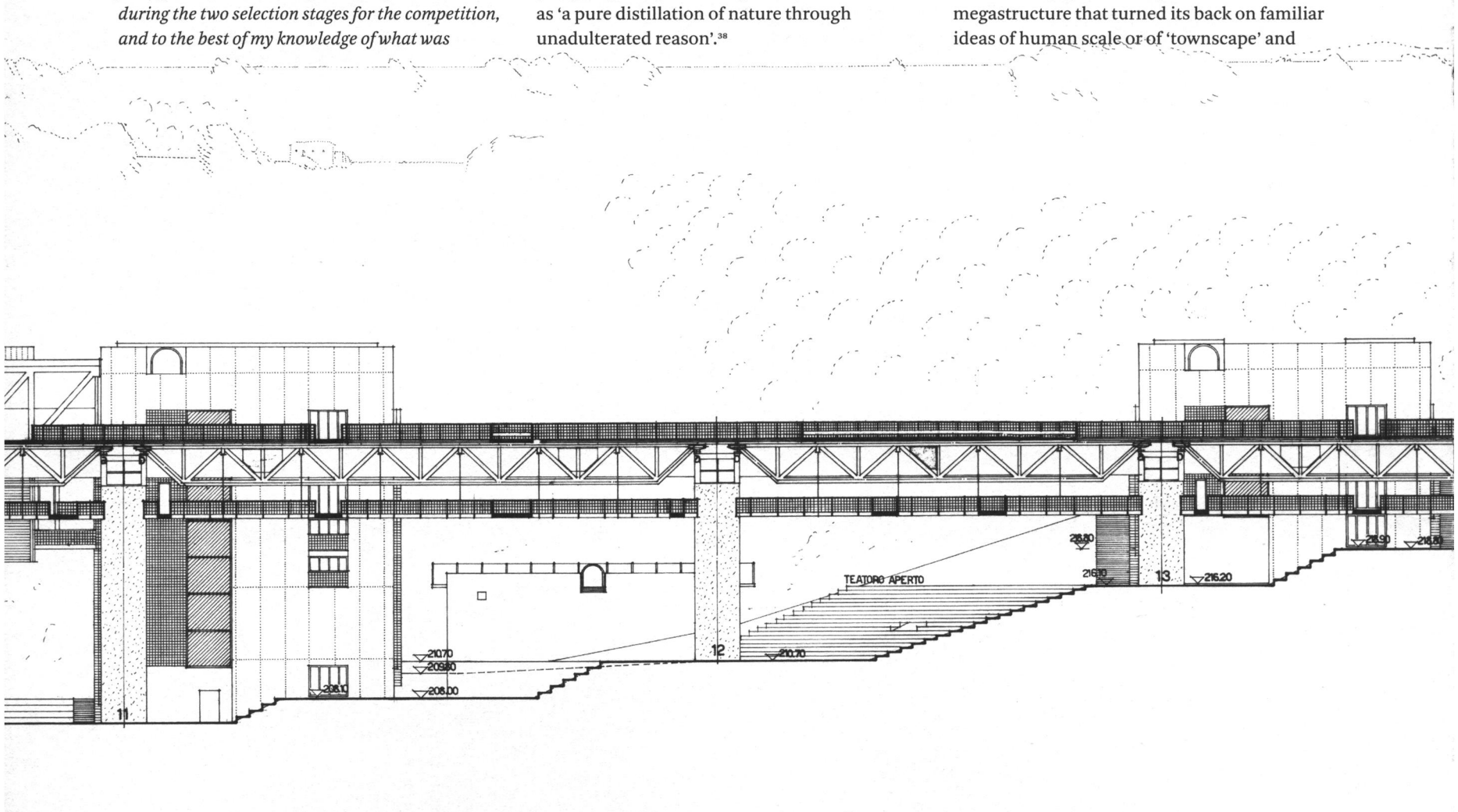
With these words of praise for Gregotti's project, published in a review in *Domus* in 1974, Joseph Rykwert returned to the subject of the new university, six years after declaring the type paradigmatic.[35] His disclaimer about 'partisan interests', however, can be seen as somewhat disingenuous, because in reality he did share with Gregotti a certain theoretical common ground. This was confirmed in a text written by the Italian architect more than ten years later when, reflecting back on the Calabria project, he reconnected with Rykwert's, in some ways signature, historical project.[36]

The origin of architecture does not lie in the hut, the cave or in the mythical 'Adam's house in paradise'. Before a support was transformed into a column, a roof into a pediment, and stone heaped upon stone, man put stone on the ground in order to recognise place in the midst of the unknown universe and thereby measure and modify it.[37]

Rykwert's *Adam's House in Paradise* was published in 1972, the same year that design work on the Calabria project started. In this study, he famously revealed the ways architectural discourse had repeatedly explained its origins through the existence of some sort of primitive idea of dwelling – an idea he illustrated with the re-use of the frontispiece from Abbé Laugier's *Essai sur l'architecture* (1753), depicting the lineages of architecture as 'a pure distillation of nature through unadulterated reason'.[38]

As engaged as he was with this narrative, since the early 1960s Gregotti had been developing a theoretical line of speculation of his own, specifically aimed at challenging this notion of a mythical hut. In its place, he focused on the relation between architecture and the geographical scale, which became the central topic of his 1966 book, *Il Territorio dell'architettura*.[39] And just as Rykwert recovered a fragment of eighteenth-century neo-classicism to act as iconographic register of his argument, Gregotti, too, offered up his own alternative emblem of this wider landscape scale: Fischer von Erlach's 1725 engraving of *Alexander on Mount Athos*, in which the figure of man, or rather architecture, is not placed atop or within the landscape, but is itself the landscape. For Gregotti this union encapsulated his notion of *ambiente totale*, in which both the natural and the artificial interact at the scale of an entire territory. The only real task for the architect, he argued, lay in balancing the need to both copy or assimilate this landscape and to internalise it – that is, an architect should be able to simultaneously reflect on reality while maintaining the construction of what he termed its 'double'.[40]

The project for the University of Calabria defined just such a double, and with it Gregotti discovered his own archetype or paradigm, for against the accommodating image provided by the faux urban environments of the English plateglass universities, Gregotti responded with a strangely unsettling settlement, a megastructure that turned its back on familiar ideas of human scale or of 'townscape' and



sought instead a controlling power over a large territory – his own Alexander, imposing on the Calabrian hills a marker of pure, rational architectural order.

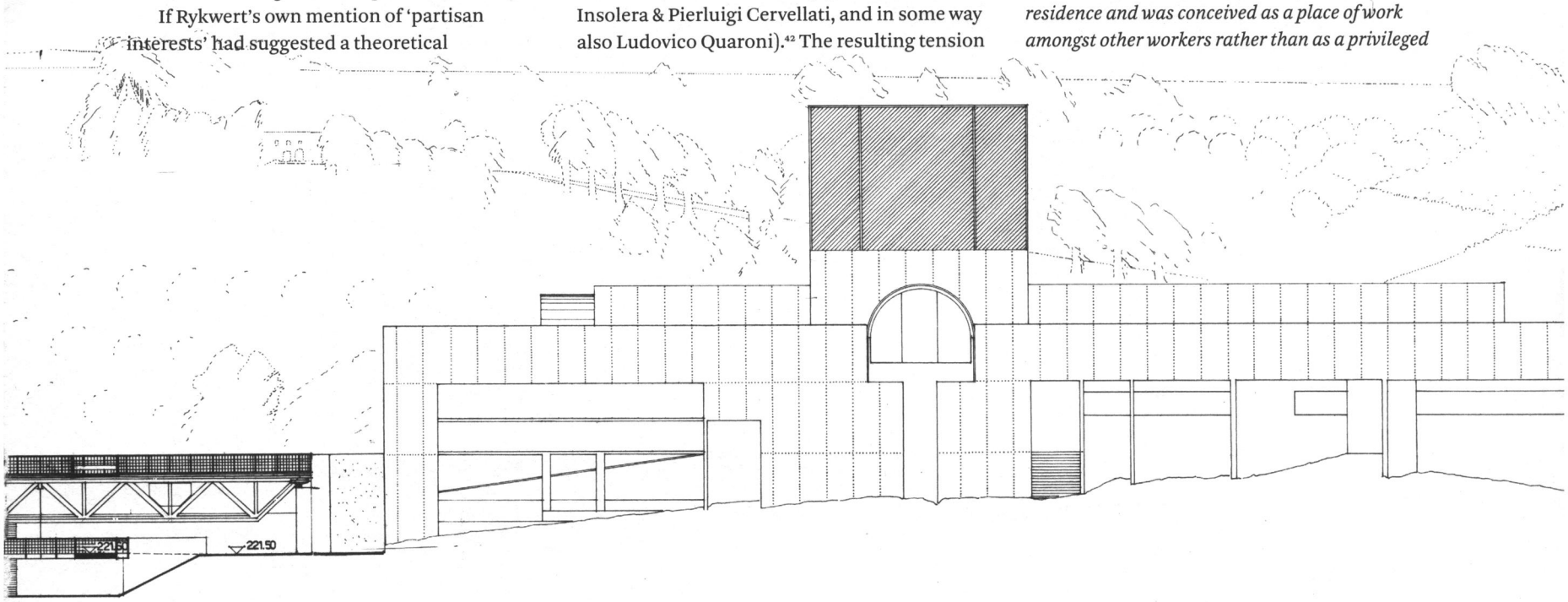
Undeniably bombastic, then, the project still managed to integrate all the elements called for in the brief: a potentially infinite, expandable structure (an absolute must for any new university), flexible interior configurations able to adapt to institutional or pedagogic reorganisation (also essential, given Italy's lack of clarity about the future of the university) and a clear architectural silhouette (acting as a possible future monument to the politicians who enabled it). These successes would also help elicit critical praise, with Kenneth Frampton, in particular, echoing Rykwert's comments in an essay for *Domus* in 1980. Here, Frampton contextualised his appreciation of the scheme by arguing that the traditional city and its immediate environment had been 'torn to shreds by the imperatives of distribution and speculation ... to the extent that the urbanised area now assumes an apparent size commensurate with the scale of nature herself ... so that the megalopolis invariably asserts itself as the universal reference to which architecture must be addressed'. This condition, he went on to argue, 'bestows a certain typological conviction on the University of Calabria – one which is sufficient to dispel any partisan impulse to dismiss it on the grounds of polemical heresy'.[41]

If Rykwert's own mention of 'partisan interests' had suggested a theoretical prerogative, their return in Frampton's summing-up locates Gregotti's project within the broader imperative to produce a new university for a new society. For Frampton this overrode any engrained architectural rivalries (or 'polemical heresies') – between, say, rationalism and organicism, or the residual fall-out from the Anglo-Italian spat between Reyner Banham and Ernesto Rogers, with the 'technological' versus the 'historical'. Such an accord, however, was to a certain extent wishful thinking, because these antagonisms were still very much in evidence, not least in an earlier 1970 competition for the University of Florence (which Gregotti had also won, with a bigger team that included Edoardo Detti).

More ambitious than the equivalent brief for Calabria, the Florentine competition asked for the production of a regional-scale masterplan that not only had to identify a site for a new university between Florence and the town of Sesto Fiorentino, but also had to rethink what remained of the existing university in Florence's historic centre. Accordingly, while many participants lamented the requirement to produce a vision of something yet to be defined, others saw this lack of guidance as a free pass to experiment. The outcome, somewhat predictably, was a diverse set of proposals that fell into two main camps: those who affirmed a faith in architectural form (Gregotti, Aymonino & Dardi, and Giuseppe Rebecchini) and those who mocked its redundancy (Archizoom, Italo Insolera & Pierluigi Cervellati, and in some way also Ludovico Quaroni).[42] The resulting tension was not appreciated by the jury, who ridiculed a number of the projects as merely eclectic exercises in drawing. One jury member, James Gowan, even went so far as to resign, criticising as he did so the very premises on which the competition was founded – namely, the attempt to detach the university from the city and the promotion of the isolated campus ideal. This polemic would be echoed a couple of years later in an article published in *The Architectural Review*. Unambiguously titled 'A Florentine Fiasco', it declared that 'one of the lessons learnt from this country's postwar university building programme is that a campus of culture, learning and athleticism, sitting in 200 acres of playing fields and parkland two miles from town, is not a final, ideal solution ... [but a] romantic dream that research and academic study is best undertaken in rural bliss'.[43]

A response by Gregotti and Detti arrived a few months later, published in the letters column of the same magazine.

Our attempt to pull together a chain of interventions (the university represents one of the central ones), stretching along a service axis which penetrates into Florence's historic centre, was a way of using the competition to regulate the situation as a whole and render it less chaotic... The whole project provides a clearly complementary and geographically well-defined system. To speak in these circumstances of the university as either in or outside the city is completely meaningless... The university is separated from the halls of residence and was conceived as a place of work amongst other workers rather than as a privileged



ghetto. The intention was to give meaning to the university, to consider it principally as a place of public exchange (a 'social condenser', as the Soviet avant-garde called the factory) that directly affects the region. To do this, it was necessary to break the ideology of the campus.[44]

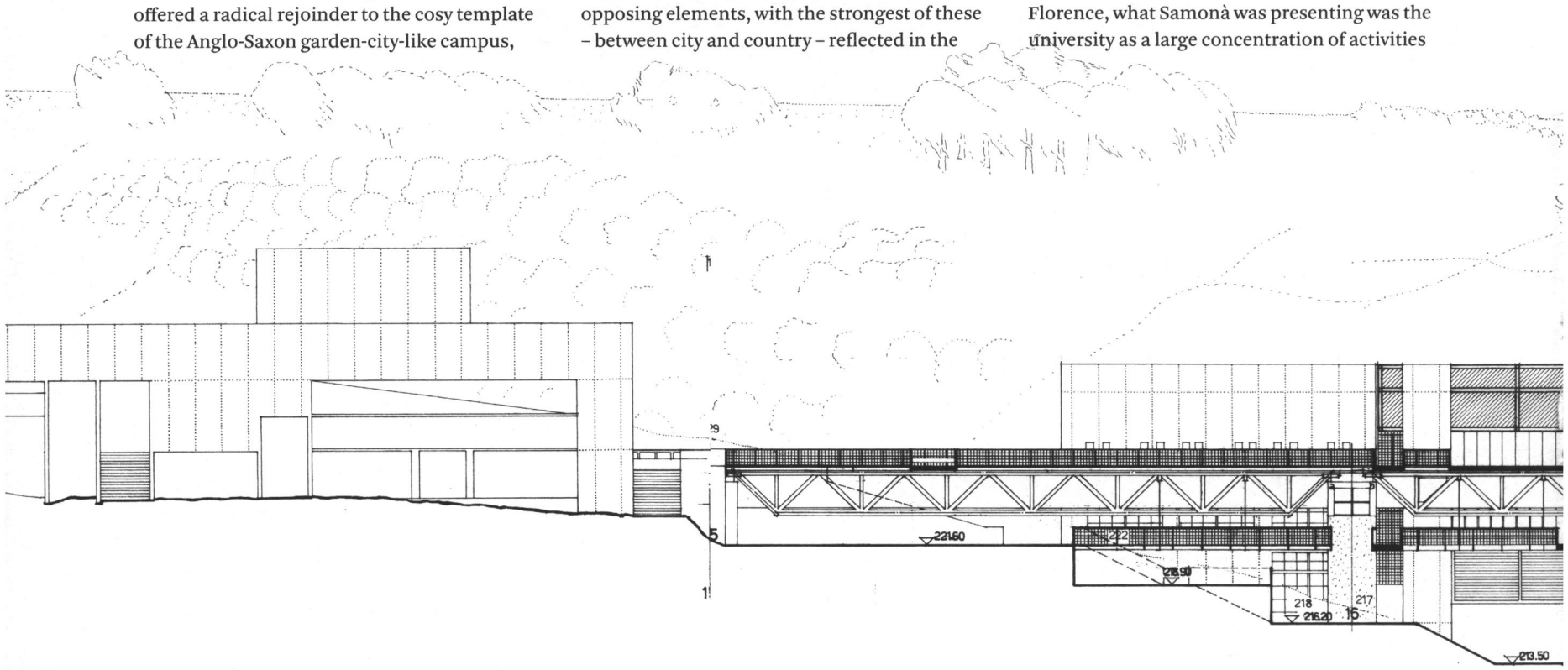
Gregotti and Detti had titled their project *Amalassunta* (presumably derived from Amalasuntha, an Ostrogoth queen who upheld Roman virtues and values), and based much of it on Detti's 1962 masterplan for Florence, which had refused a clear distinction between city and country – something Gregotti reiterated in his 1966 book, claiming that 'the city is no longer something that can be clearly identified in isolation, as in the past'.[45] Their proposal played to this idea with a totalising image that featured a series of large parking garages around Florence's historic core and a capillary infrastructural network delineating a new set of contours for the surrounding landscape. Within this supposedly emphatic representation of territorial coherence, the new university settlement stood as a clearly identifiable figure, a perfect rectangle defined by five linear blocks for the various departments, each almost 1km long, and held together by a plinth filled not just with lecture halls, auditoria and libraries, but also with food halls, sports facilities, shops, hotels and cinemas – ie, in no sense a piece of romantic pastoralism, but a wholeheartedly urban corridor whose artifice combined both education and leisure. And yet as much as it offered a radical rejoinder to the cosy template of the Anglo-Saxon garden-city-like campus, Gregotti and Detti's vision also, paradoxically, reinforced Italy's own existing model, merely scaling up the typical university student's daily passage between home (still kept within the city's core) and university (now relocated to an academic shopping mall).

Gregotti's own trajectory along his urbanising corridor, from his proposals for Florence (in 1970–71) to Calabria (in 1972–74), would find a pivotal point in the second of Italy's big university competitions, for the University of Cagliari (1971–73), ironically one of the few he did not enter.[46] The scheme, authored by the architect and planner Giuseppe Samonà, which won second prize, proposed a single gigantic settlement occupying the entire 400-hectare site on the northern periphery of Cagliari. At 3km long it extended to the same length as Gregotti's Calabrian bridge, but there the similarities ended, for whereas Gregotti spanned a sequence of valleys, Samonà had his university sink into the ground as an inverted bas-relief: 'an emblem (or monument?) turned upside down', was how one collaborator on the project, the anarchist sociologist and planner Carlo Doglio, described it.[47]

Both Samonà and Doglio were highly critical of the English university model and what they saw as its delusion of perpetuating Ebenezer Howard's dream of the friendly synthesis of urbanity and rurality in harmonious, self-contained communities.[48] Their vision, in contrast, depicted a city fuelled by the confrontation of opposing elements, with the strongest of these – between city and country – reflected in the rigidity of its perimeter (something the architects reinforced in two vast plaster models, whose size and topography alone made them appear as their own chunk of urbanised landscape). It also depended on repetition, for in their university there was to be no hierarchy (no main library, no student union, etc); rather, everything was resolved numerically, with the drawings allocating 250m to medicine, 100m to biology, 150m to philosophy, etc.

For Samonà, the appeal of the generic also lay in its potential to break with the status quo of the paternalistic Italian university. And in this he was far more explicit than Gregotti (whose own, later, scheme shared much of Samonà's cold rationality), arguing in his competition text that a 'new' university had to modify the learning process in order to create a similarly 'new' category of worker, whose skills would be less specialised and encompass more generic tasks, like the organisation of workload. A university student, he went on, was merely a worker in the initial stages of a professional career, which in turn implied a fundamental shift in what a university should be, moving beyond its narrow definition as a special place for teaching and research. Samonà was emphatic on this point, writing that 'it would be impossible but also wrong to conceive the new university of Cagliari as a zoo for teachers and students located within an area of 400 hectares'.[49]

Not a campus, then, but not a dispersed Italian university either. Like Gregotti in Florence, what Samonà was presenting was the university as a large concentration of activities



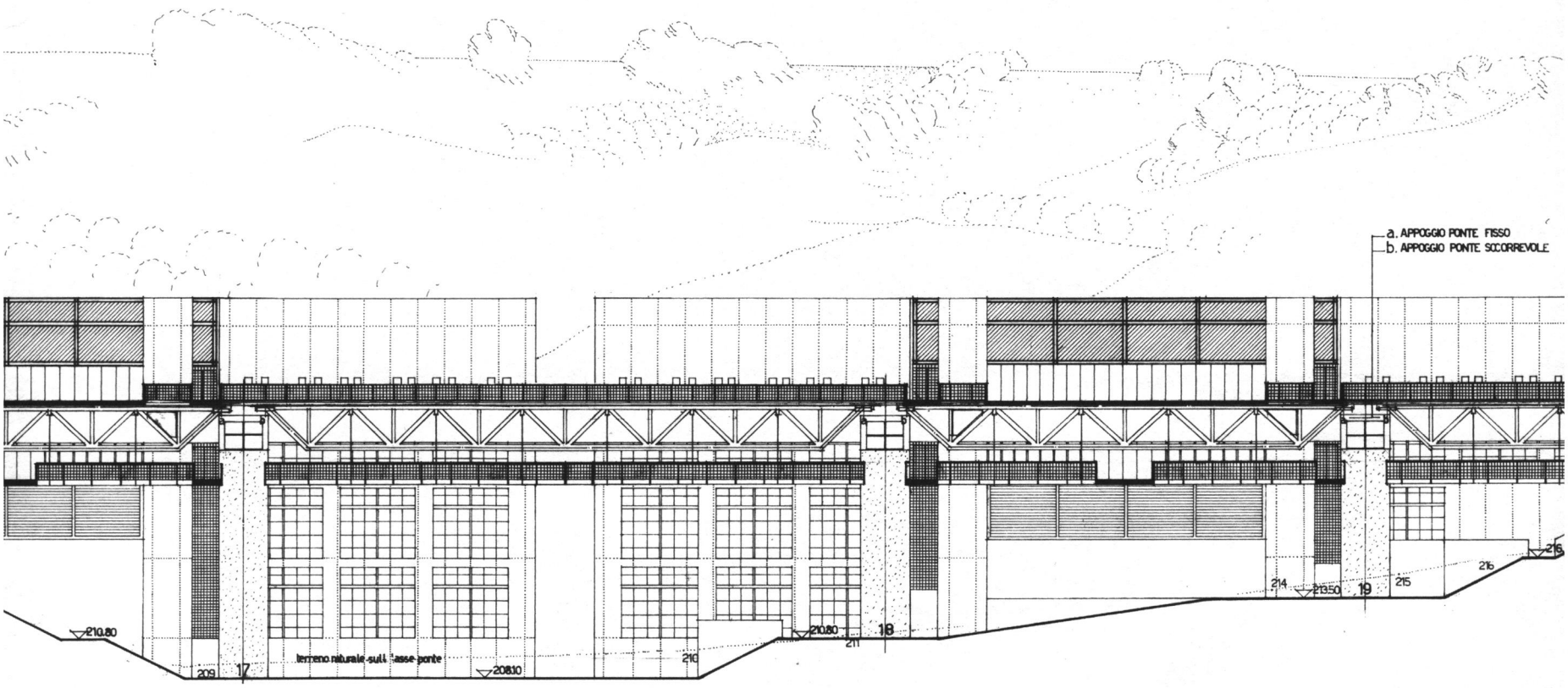
for an advanced tertiary economy, mixing offices, laboratories and classrooms. Inside such a settlement, students would be workers among workers, their constant contact with each other designed to cultivate a more professional mentality that favoured general over specialised knowledge. The social and pedagogic dynamic of the new University of Cagliari would therefore be distinctly bottom-up, and yet the decision to concentrate the whole settlement within a single, geometric structure only seemed to reinforce something fundamentally top-down. As a result, the political associations of Samonà and Doglio's proposal were somewhat ambiguous, which suggests an interesting indictment of 1968 – just three years after this global wave of student protest, there remained fundamental doubts as to whether the university of the future should be dispersed or concentrated, urban or rural, and its students cast as an enlightened elite or, as Samonà would have it, 'an a-political class, limited by false dignity and the preconceptions of a petit bourgeoisie'.[50]

This might explain the double-edged character of the university projects by Samonà and Gregotti, and the way their leftist sympathies did not extend to the new left of the students, who had declared war on the old society and its professors – a class that of course included people like Samonà and Gregotti. Their universities were thus from the outset riven by paradox: while providing opportunities for more open, mature self-formation they were at the same time domesticating, even infantilising, large numbers of new students. In this way, the ghosts of centralised authority and paternalism still haunted both Gregotti and Samonà's ideas of the university, despite their willingness to rethink the scale of these academic settlements and generally provide a greater access to higher education. Canella, in contrast, remained more closely aligned to the students, but ultimately paid for his loyalty – thrown out of his own university, victim of his own top-down purge.

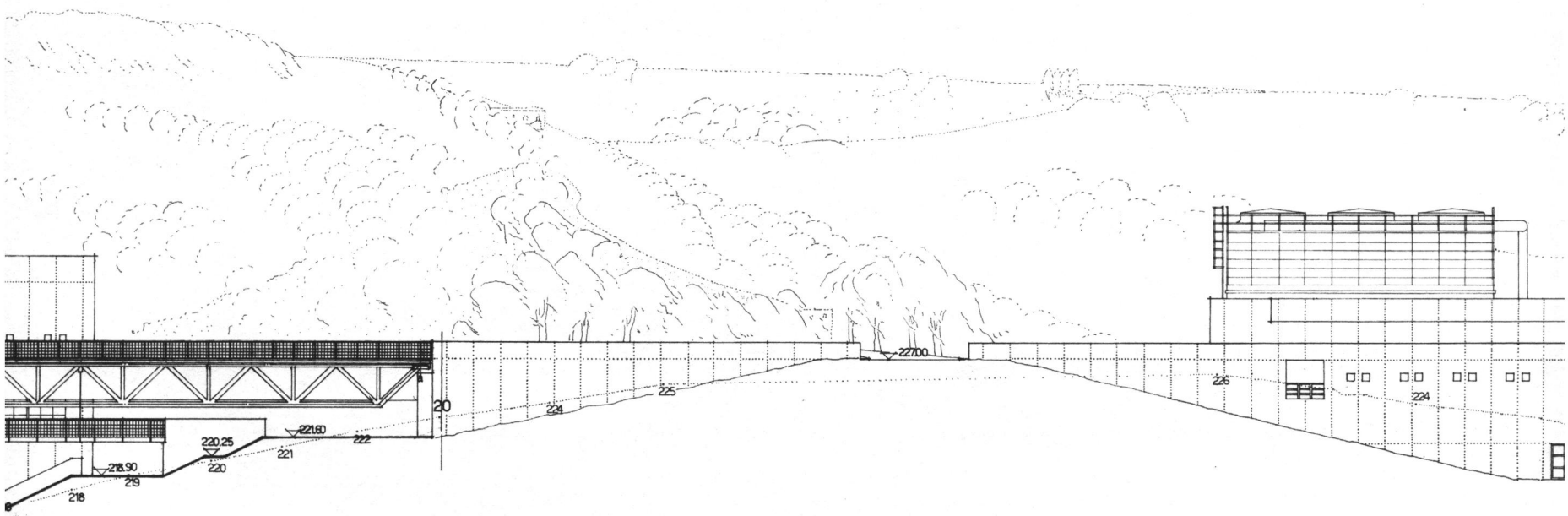
Of course, ambiguity might also define the university as a whole, which in all its various incarnations – from the medieval cloister to the territorial bas-relief – has always depended on the continual interplay of its integration with and detachment from reality. The plateglass universities, in particular, sought to mask this ambivalence, presenting only a stable typology through a set of stable images. As a result, the English universities that were built in the 1960s rarely questioned the innermost status quo of the institution, choosing instead to disguise it behind demagogic claims for the university-as-city. In reality, most new campuses played it safe by clearly circumscribing the brief inside a spatially defined compound that in no sense radically challenged the idea of the university.

The Italian projects, in contrast, all advertised themselves through their volatility, challenging established models, but also, unwittingly, producing equally unstable solutions. But perhaps more than anything else this is merely a consequence of their design *after* 1968, unlike their English counterparts which were all conceived *before* revolution. The fact that this Italian erasure of stability manifested itself through the most heroic architectural gestures imaginable only adds further to the difficulty of interpreting this moment – and may also explain their exclusion from architecture's more recent historiographies. Of course, one could also adopt a defiantly politicised position on this, too, and suggest that the easiest way to neuter a destabilising idea is to historicise it, and with such rhetoric we remain, as ever, ambivalent.

Towards the end of his 1968 essay Joseph Rykwert suggested that 'the most pressing argument for finding the paradigm for the city in the university [is the existence of] a society organised around differentiation and disagreement, [whose] freedom is the token of the open society'[51] – an argument that in many ways seems to anticipate the Italian projects that were still to come, rather than the English projects that had just been unveiled. Indeed, in looking back at the images produced in Italy, we are left with a series of drawings that reveal doubts as to the scale in which higher education should be conceived, with their rejection of the model of buildings clustered around some central urban square within some ersatz campus-city. From this drawn portfolio, the 3km university-bridge that spans the Calabrian hills stands alone as the only built witness of an alternative narrative. Contemplating it now we feel our confusion grow, along with our curiosity as to what this thing we call a university should ultimately be.

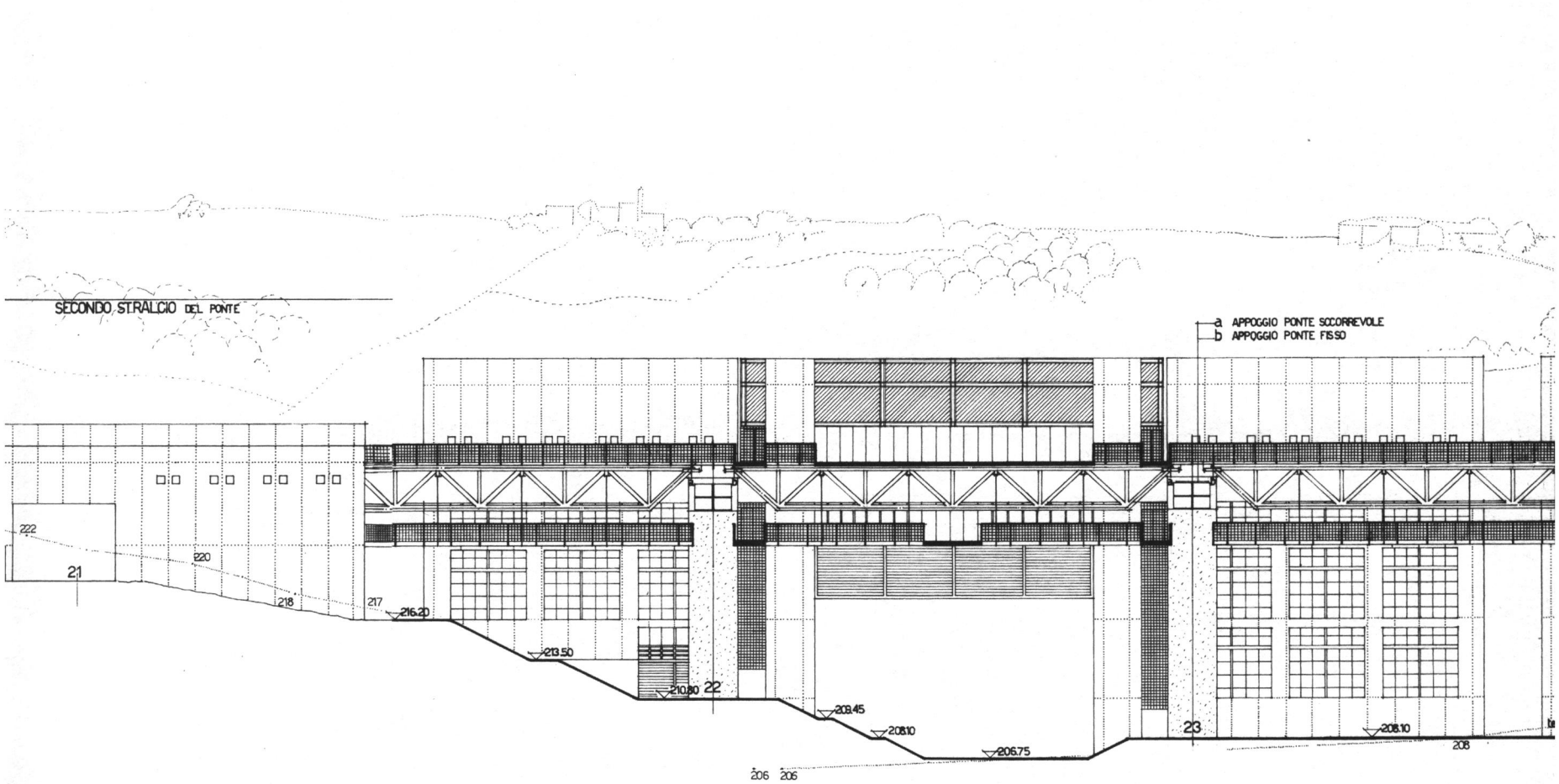


1. Joseph Rykwert, 'Universities as Institutional Archetypes of our Age', *Zodiac* 18 (1968), pp 61–63.
2. Editorial, *Architectural Forum*, vol 116, no 2, 1962, p 51.
3. Michael Brawne (ed), 'University Planning and Design: A Symposium', *Architectural Association Papers 3* (London: Lund Humphries for the Architectural Association, 1967), p 8. Jointly organised by the RIBA and the Architectural Association, the symposium was held at the University of Sussex, one of the new plateglass universities, in July 1964. Bringing together vice-chancellors, professors and architects of the new academic institutions, speakers included Shadrach Woods, presenting the Berlin Free University, and Richard P Dober, author of *Campus Planning* (1963), who discussed new American universities.
4. *Ibid*, p 48.
5. *Ibid*, p 68.
6. Among the various monographic issues of architectural magazines on university planning and design in the 1960s and 1970s see: *Architectural Design*, no 12, 'Living in Universities', December 1966; *Architectural Design*, no 5, 'What About Learning?', May 1968 (guest editor Cedric Price); *The Architectural Review*, vol 134, no 800, 'Universities', October 1963; *The Architectural Review*, vol 147, no 878, 'The New Universities', April 1970 (guest editor Michael Brawne); *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, no 137, 'Universités', April–May 1968; *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, no 183, 'Université, Ville et Territoire', January–February 1976; *Casabella*, no 357, 'Studenti Senza Casa', April–October 1971; *Casabella*, no 423, 'Università: Progettare il Mutamento', March 1977.
7. See Stefan Muthesius, *The Postwar University: Utopianist Campus and College* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).
8. For the expansion plans of the State University of New York see VV/AA, *Campus Plans for State University New York* (nd, *c* 1965).
9. Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963). Kerr's idea of an American 'multiversity' depicted a gigantic and incoherent administrative machine populated by an 'affluent' faculty with interests located outside of the university itself, as the institution was 'called to merge its activities with industry in an unprecedented way' (p 106). An unplanned result of the historical evolution of the university, the multiversity was no longer a tight community, 'but multiple communities' based on conflict; it was not an 'organism' because 'parts could be added and subtracted without harming the system' (pp 30–31). Ultimately, it was a 'mechanism kept together by administration and activated by money' (p 32). In Kerr's book we also find what would prove to be a highly prescient forecast of the dramatic growth of administration as a major component of the twenty-first-century university, over and above their focus on the traditional goals of teaching and scholarship.
10. Bill Readings has articulated a brilliant analysis of the changing condition of the university and its multiple ideas from Humboldt to the early 1990s in his book, *The University in Ruins* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996). He argues that with the collapse of national states and the rise of transnational agreements, institutions and corporations, the university has lost the goal assigned to it by German reformers in the early nineteenth century to build the cultural identity of a country. For Readings, this has predicated a switch from a university based on an idea of culture to one pursuing an idea of excellence, which is much less clearly definable. Published in 1996, Readings' book is strikingly prophetic if read with the eyes of the 2010s, when corporate language and identity have completely invaded the academic realm.
11. The results of the Ruhr Universitat Bochum competition were published in *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, no 107, April–May 1963, and in *Bauwelt*, nos 19/20, 20 May 1963. See also Stefan Muthesius, *op cit*, pp 252–57.
12. Aldo Rossi, 'Nuovi Problemi', *Casabella*, no 264 (1962), pp 2–7 (author's translation).
13. For a comprehensive presentation of the project see Italo Rota (ed), *Il Progetto per l'Università Delle Calabrie E Altre Architetture Di Vittorio Gregotti. The Project for Calabria University and Other Architectural Works by Vittorio Gregotti* (Milan: Electa International, 1979).
14. The competition brief for the first stage was published in *Gazzetta Ufficiale della Repubblica Italiana*, no 188 (20 July 1972), pp 5229–31. The final results were announced in June 1974 as follows (listing only team leaders): first prize Vittorio Gregotti; second prize Tarquini Martensson; third prize Jerzy Yozefowicz; fourth prize Robert Mart; fifth prize Riccardo Dalisi; sixth prize Piero Sartogo, with Arup. All 67 entries were published and discussed in Luciana De Rosa and Massimo Pica Ciamarra, 'Concorso per l'Università Di Calabria: Prima Lettura Dei Progetti', *L'Architettura Cronache E Storia*, no 5 (September 1974), pp 296–324.
15. With the sole exception of Calabria, founded in 1968, the other three were expansions of existing institutions. The competition briefs for Florence, Cagliari and Salerno were published in *Gazzetta Ufficiale della Repubblica Italiana* respectively in issues 110 (4 May 1970), pp 2747–49; 180 (17 July 1971), pp 4453–55; and 157 (20 June 1973), pp 4358–60. Coverage in architectural publications decreased from the first competition to the last, with Florence being widely published and discussed and Salerno being totally neglected.



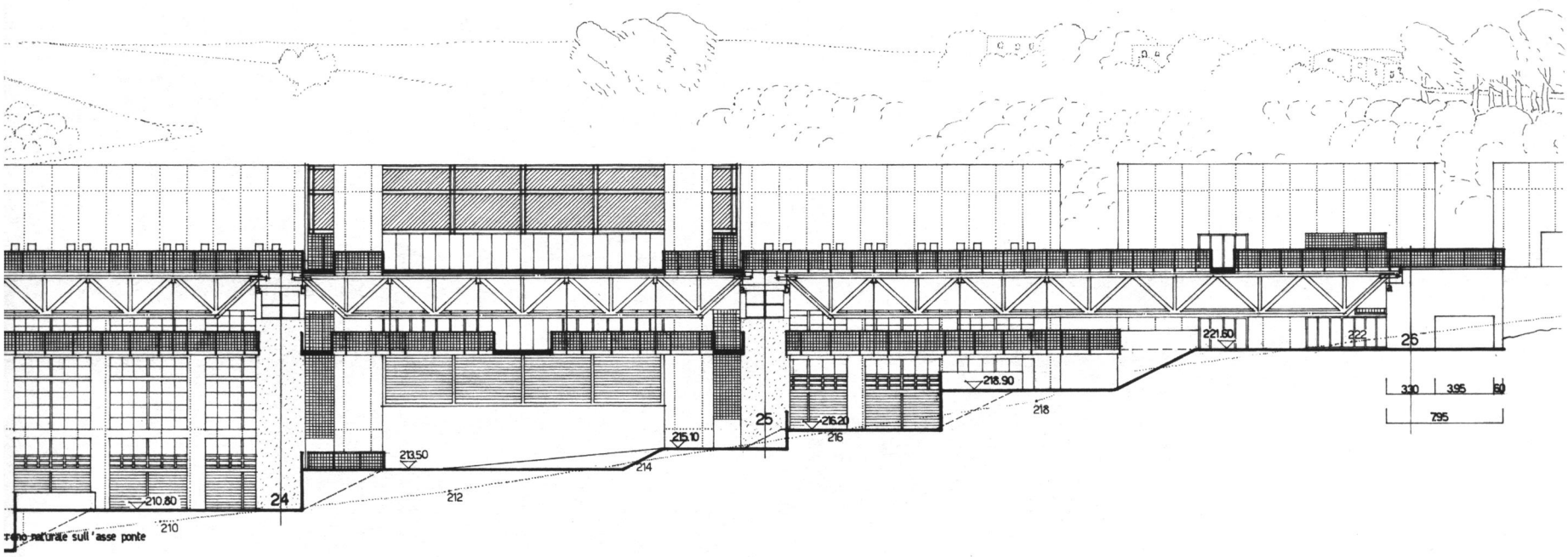
For Florence see *Casabella*, no 361 (January 1972), pp 19–29; *Controspazio*, nos 1–2 (January–February 1972), pp 5–31; *Domus*, no 509 (April 1972), pp 1–12; *Urbanistica*, no 62 (April 1974), pp 45–63. For Cagliari see *Controspazio*, no 3 (November 1973), pp 10–49.

16. Besides the magazine coverage of the Florence and Cagliari competitions, the most comprehensive but scarcely circulated book on the Italian experience of university planning is Marcello Rebecchini, *Progettare L'università* (Roma: Edizioni Kappa, 1981). Another author who analysed the projects around the time of their design is Paola Coppola Pignatelli, *L'Università in Espansione: Orientamenti Dell'edilizia Universitaria* (Milan: Etas Kompass, 1969); Paola Coppola Pignatelli, 'Gap Tra Ricerca E Attuazione Nell'edilizia Universitaria: Note Su 4 Concorsi', *Parametro*, no 44 (1976), pp 13–19. See also *Casabella*, no 423, 'Università: Progettare il Mutamento', March 1977.
17. The most striking transformation from competition to building happened in Florence, where delays led to changes in the architectural team, marked most significantly by Detti's death in 1984 and Gregotti's resignation from the project in 1985. From a formal viewpoint, the project was literally inverted from the megastructural character of the winning entry to a more conventional scheme of standalone buildings surrounding a central lawn. In Cagliari, the winning team headed by Luisa Anversa Ferretti was eventually substituted in 1985, when the university commissioned a new project by another architectural office (B&C Associati). More generally, what was not implemented in both cases were the large-scale indications for the wider regional territory proposed by the winning projects, resulting in the realisation of fragments (often commonly referred to as university 'citadels' or 'poles') that lost the rationale behind the proposals. On the fate of the Italian universities built after the competitions see Sabrina Puddu, 'Campus o Cittadella? Il Progetto di un'Eredità', in Sabrina Puddu, Martino Tattara and Francesco Zuddas, *Territori della Conoscenza* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2017), pp 134–51.
18. 'Relazione sullo Stato della Pubblica Istruzione in Italia', presented to Luigi Gui, Minister of Public Education, on 24 July 1963 by a commission headed by Giuseppe Ermini (referred to as 'Commissione Ermini').
19. Luigi Gui presented a reform proposal to parliament in May 1965 which incorporated some of the recommendations of the Commissione Ermini, including further liberalisation of access to the university regardless of the type of secondary school title, the differentiation of three academic titles of growing academic and professional validity (the university diploma, the laurea and the doctorate), the limitation of professional opportunities for full-time professors outside of the university, and the creation of university departments to complement the existing organisation by faculties and institutes.
20. For a history of the Italian university see Gian Paolo Brizzi, Piero Del Negro and Andrea Romano (eds), *Storia dell'Università in Italia* (Messina: SICANIA, 2007).
21. Of the project for the Città Universitaria, Marcello Piacentini, author of the masterplan, said that only fascist ideology could have made realised the idea of concentrating in one single modern location all university institutes. See Marcello Piacentini, 'Metodi E Caratteristiche', *Architettura*, no XIV (1935), p 2. See also Renato Pacini, 'La Città Universitaria Di Roma', *Architettura*, no 8 (August 1933) and VV/AA, *1935/1985 La 'Sapienza' Nella Città Universitaria, Catalogo Della Mostra* (Rome: Multigrafica Editrice, 1985). The fascist regime also produced the backbone of legislation on education and higher education in Italy with the reform produced by the Minister of Public Education, Giovanni Gentile, in 1923. The Gentile Reform still determined the Italian education system well into the 1970s, adding ideological reasoning to the causes of protest from students during the 1960s. See Andrea Romano, 'A Trent'anni Dal 68. Questione Universitaria E Riforma Universitaria', *Annali Di Storia Delle Università Italiane* 2 (1998).
22. This figure was indicated in the 'Second National Economic Plan for the period 1970–80', which advised on the need to build '20 new centres for the university population' by 1980. Also known as 'Progetto 80' and produced by the Centro di studi e piani economici, the research centre that in 1962 had published the book *La Città Regione in Italia*, the plan was a holistic analysis of the whole national territory, proposing a massive physical rearrangement of the country according to a pattern of linear urbanisation and a new system of national parks. Progetto 80 acknowledged the strategic role that the university could play in a process of territorial transformation to achieve what it called a 'new urban civilisation'. The plan was published by Ministero del Bilancio e della Programmazione Economica, with the title *Progetto 80: Rapporto Preliminare Al Programma Economico Nazionale 1971–75* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1969). For an account of its genesis see Cristina Renzoni, *Il Progetto '80: Un'idea Di Paese nell'Italia Degli Anni Sessanta* (Florence: Alinea, 2012).
23. The sense of liberation that architects experienced in designing without any guidance from the state was often hidden behind complaints about the inadequacy of competitions as a means to solve such an urgent issue as higher education reform. Examples of such

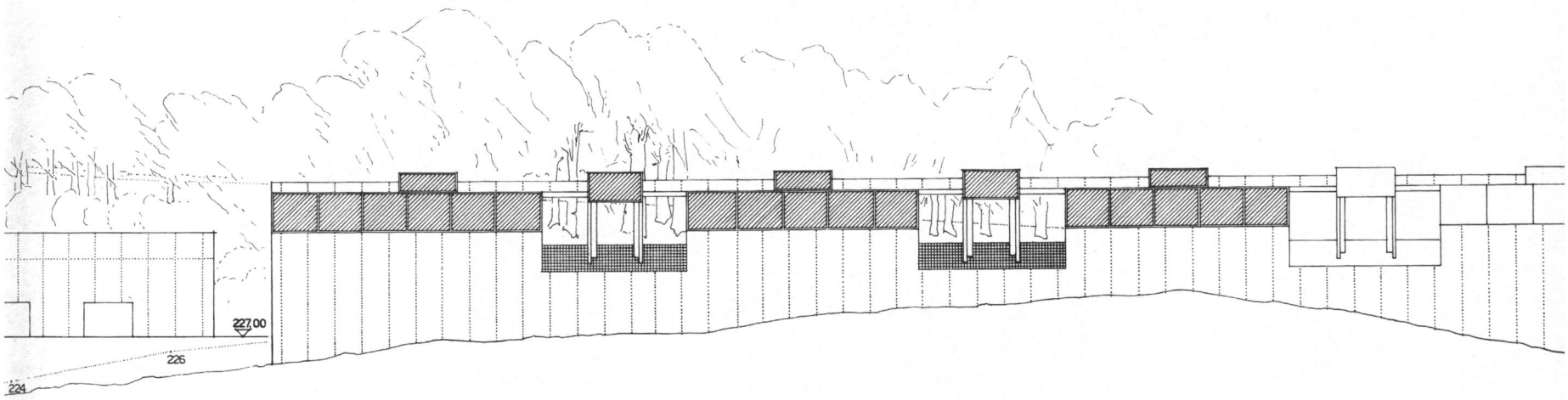


complaints can be found in the words of both participants and members of the jury. An earlier critique can be found in Vittorio Gregotti and Emilio Battisti, 'Due Concorsi', *Edilizia Moderna*, nos 82–82 (1964). Other criticisms of the university competitions are Oriol Bohigas, 'Considerazioni Di Un Membro Della Giuria', *Casabella*, no 361 (January 1972); Giovanni Maria Campus and Paolo Casella, 'Università Senza Pianificazione E Senza Riforme', *Casabella*, no 367 (July 1972); Carlo Aymonino et al, 'La Nuova Università Di Cagliari', *Controspazio*, no 3 (September 1973).

24. Giancarlo De Carlo (ed), *Pianificazione E Disegno Delle Università* (Rome: Edizioni universitarie italiane, 1968); Coppola Pignatelli, *L'Università in Espansione: Orientamenti Dell'edilizia Universitaria*; Guido Canella and Lucio S D'Angiolini (eds), *Università: Ragione, Contesto, Tipo* (Bari: Dedalo libri, 1975). In addition, Piero Sartogo researched the tradition of the American campus during his stay as a visiting professor at the University of Virginia in the late 1960s. Derived from this experience, Sartogo published a series of articles on 'Campus Design' in *Casabella* between 1968 and 1969 (some written in collaboration with Carlo Pelliccia).
25. Franco Archibugi (ed), *La Città Regione in Italia* (Turin: Boringhieri, 1966), and Carlo Aymonino et al (eds), *La Città Territorio: Un Esperimento Didattico Sul Centro Direzionale Di Centocelle in Roma* (Bari: Leonardo da Vinci editrice, 1964).
26. For a discussion of the Italian postwar architectural and urbanistic debate see Cina Conforto et al, *Il Dibattito Architettonico in Italia, 1945–1975* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1977); Manfredo Tafuri, *Storia Dell'architettura Italiana, 1944–1985* (Turin: Einaudi, 1986); Mario Ferrari, *Il Progetto Urbano in Italia: 1940–1990* (Florence: Alinea, 2005).
27. For a detailed reconstruction of the student protests in Italy and their relation to the revolts of the factory workers see Guido Viale, *Il Sessantotto. Tra Rivoluzione E Restaurazione* (Milan: Gabriele Mazzotta Editore, 1978). Soon after 1968, Viale was among the founders of the far-left extra-parliamentary organisation Lotta Continua, which was born in 1969 from a secession within the workers–students movement in Turin that also gave birth to the parallel group Potere Operaio, later renamed Autonomia Operaia. For a less partisan reading of the events, see the historical account by Paul Ginsborg in *Storia d'Italia Dal Dopoguerra a Oggi* (Turin: Einaudi, 1989), pp 230–63. The relation between Autonomia and the political and architectural scene in Italy at the turn of the 1970s has been discussed by Pier Vittorio Aureli in *The Project of Autonomy: Politics and Architecture within and against Capitalism* (New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008). The main written critiques of the student movement around 1968 were initially collected by Giancarlo De Carlo in his pamphlet *La Piramide Rovesciata* (Bari: De Donato, 1968) and in VV/AA, *Università: L'ipotesi Rivoluzionaria. Documenti Delle Lotte Studentesche*, *op cit*. These have recently been republished and expanded in VV/AA, *Contro l'Università. I Principali Documenti Della Critica Radicale Alle Istituzioni Accademiche Del Sessantotto* (Milan: Mimesis, 2008).
28. The course was later documented in book form. See Guido Canella and Lucio S D'Angiolini (eds), *Università: Ragione, Contesto, Tipo* (Bari: Dedalo libri, 1975).
29. The protests were discussed by Canella in the introduction to *Università.* A previous analysis of the student protests in the Italian universities, and in particular in the schools of architecture, had been written by Giancarlo De Carlo. See Giancarlo De Carlo, *La Piramide Rovesciata* (Bari: De Donato, 1968). For a more recent account, specifically focused on the events in Milan, see Marco Biraghi, 'Università: La Facoltà Di Architettura Del Politecnico Di Milano (1963–74)', in *Italia 60/70. Una Stagione dell' Architettura*, edited by Marco Biraghi et al (Padova: Il poligrafo, 2010), pp 87–97. For a broader discussion of the school of architecture at Milan's polytechnic see the catalogue of the exhibition 'La Rivoluzione Culturale' (Milan, 23 November 2009 – 8 January 2010) available at http://www.gizmoweb.org/portfolio/la-rivoluzione-culturale.
30. The eight members suspended from their academic roles with a decree of the Minister of Public Education were: Paolo Portoghesi, Franco Albini, Lodovico Barbiano di Belgiojoso, Piero Bottoni, Guido Canella, Carlo De Carli, Aldo Rossi and Vittoriano Viganò. See Marco Biraghi, *op cit*. A series of issues of *Controspazio* chronicled the events and the opinions of those involved. See *Controspazio*, nos 10–11 (October–November 1971); *Controspazio*, nos 5–6 (May–June 1972); *Controspazio*, no 1 (June 1973).
31. Franco Catalano, Ermanno Rea, 'Le università del sud', no 26, 1 July 1973, quoted in Guido Canella, *Università*, *op cit*, p 12.
32. On the Italian *collegi* see Gian Paolo Brizzi, 'Università E Collegi', in *Storia Delle Università in Italia*, edited by Gian Paolo Brizzi, Piero Del Negro and Andrea Romano, vol 2 (Messina: SICANIA, 2007), pp 347–87.
33. Università degli Studi di Calabria, 'Concorso Internazionale per Il Progetto Della Sede dell'Università Degli Studi Di Calabria. Relazione Illustrativa' (Università degli Studi di Calabria, 1972).
34. Joseph Rykwert, 'Vittorio Gregotti E Associati: La Nuova Università Della Calabria, Il Progetto Vincente Al Concorso Internazionale', *Domus*, no 540 (November 1974), p 15 (author's translation).



35. Besides Rykwert and the university rector Beniamino Andreatta, the jury for the Calabria competition included as international members Georges Candilis and Michael Brawne.
36. An early manifestation of the mutual respect between Rykwert and Gregotti is found in the publication of an Italian translation of the former's *The Idea of a Town* (originally published in *Forum*, no 3, 1963) in one of the issues of *Edilizia Moderna* edited by Gregotti (*Edilizia Moderna*, nos 82–83, 1964, pp 207–14). Subsequently, Gregotti acknowledged Rykwert's contribution to the conceptualisation of the relation between built form and cosmology in a footnote of *Il Territorio dell'Architettura* (p 94). In response, Rykwert wrote a monograph on Gregotti's work: Joseph Rykwert, *Gregotti Associati* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1995), and, most recently, returned to their friendship in his autobiography: Joseph Rykwert, *Remembering Places: A Memoir* (London: Routledge, 2017).
37. Vittorio Gregotti, 'Territory and Architecture', *Architectural Design Profile* 59, nos 5–6 (1985), pp 28–34. Republished in Kate Nesbitt (ed), *Theorising a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory 1965–1995* (New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), p 342.
38. Joseph Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History* (New York, NY: Museum of Modern Art, 1972), p 48.
39. Following parallel paths in the editorial team of *Casabella*, Gregotti and Rossi published their books – the former's *Il Territorio dell'Architettura* and the latter's *L'Architettura della Città* – in the same year, 1966. While Rossi's book has been widely circulated among an international audience, Gregotti's has never had a full English edition, despite being translated into many other languages.
40. Vittorio Gregotti, *Il Territorio dell'Architettura*, *op cit*, p 342.
41. Kenneth Frampton, 'City without Flags', *Domus*, no 609 (September 1980), p 18.
42. The final results of the Florence competition were: Vittorio Gregotti and Edoardo Detti, *Amalassunta*, first prize; Pierluigi Cervellati and Italo Insolera, *Aquarius*, second prize; Ludovico Quaroni, *Sistemi Congiunti Tre*, third prize; Carlo Aymonino and Costantino Dardi, *Ariella*, commendation; Roberto Berardi, *Beltegeuse*, commendation; Italo Gamberini, *Continuum*, commendation; Massimo Pica Ciamarra, *Il Rasoio di Occam*, commendation; Giuseppe Rebecchini, *Stoà*, commendation. Archizoom presented a project titled *I Progetti si Firmano* (projects had to be titled and signed) that polemically ignored the request for anonymity, as did their decision to put the office's name on all panels, resulting in their automatic exclusion from the competition. This proposal became the first formulation of No-Stop City, which Archizoom published in 1971 (*Domus*, no 496). Among the other radical Florentine groups that took part in the competition were Superstudio and Gruppo 9999.
43. 'A Florentine Fiasco', *The Architectural Review*, no 900 (February 1972), pp 79–82.
44. Vittorio Gregotti et al, 'Florentine Fiasco: To the Editors', *The Architectural Review*, no 905 (July 1972), p 63.
45. Vittorio Gregotti, *Il Territorio dell'Architettura*, *op cit*, p 71 (author's translation).
46. The results of the competition for the University of Cagliari were: Luisa Anversa Ferretti, first prize; Giuseppe Samonà, second prize; Carlo Aymonino and Costantino Dardi, third prize; Uberto Siola, honourable mention.
47. Carlo Doglio, 'L'essenza sarda e l'università come fenomeno', in Giuseppe Samonà et al, 'Concorso Nazionale per Il Piano Urbanistico Di Sistemazione Della Sede dell'Università Di Cagliari: Relazione Illustrativa Dei Concetti Informatori Della Proposta, Con Le Fasi E I Metodi Di Realizzazione E Il Piano Finanziario Di Massima' 1972, Samonà 1 pro/1/069, Università IUAV – Archivio Progetti, Fondo Giuseppe e Alberto Samonà.
48. Carlo Doglio (1914–1995) had a background in law, having received his degree from the University of Bologna in 1936. His meeting with Giancarlo De Carlo in 1943, when they both shared an activist anti-fascist role, contributed to his growing interest in urbanism and his later work in regional planning. In 1952 Doglio published the widely-read essay *L'equivoco Della Città Giardino* (Naples: RL, 1953), in which he criticised the technocratic nature of Ebenezer Howard's idea of the garden city, a criticism that Samonà would take forward in his book *L'urbanistica E L'avvenire Della Città Negli Stati Europei* (Bari: Laterza, 1959). In 1965–67, Doglio and Samonà collaborated on the urban plan for Cefalù in Samonà's native Sicily, with Samonà appointing him to teach urbanism at IUAV in 1969, where he stayed until 1972 before taking on the chair of planning at Bologna. For the University of Cagliari competition, which happened during his teaching period at IUAV, Doglio wrote a short 'socio-anthropological' text that was appended to the general description of the project written by Samonà. For an introduction to Doglio and a collection of some of his main writings see Chiara Mazzoleni (ed), *Carlo Doglio: Selezione Di Scritti 1950–1984* (Bologna: Istituto universitario di architettura, Istituto di urbanistica, 1992).
49. Giuseppe Samonà et al, 'Concorso Nazionale', *op cit*.
50. *Ibid*.
51. Joseph Rykwert, 'Universities as Institutional Archetypes of our Age', *op cit*.



Vittorio Gregotti, long-section
of the University of Calabria, 1972–74
© Archivio Gregotti